1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

considerable difficulty with the interpretation, but I believe they finally understood what I was trying to say. They did, they said, and added that one sleeps very well afterwards.

Co-wives attain varying degrees of harmony. The expression of jealousy, especially loud wrangling, upsets everybody, as all expression of discord does. Women are trained by group approval to mould their conduct to acceptance. But often painful jealousy does beset them, and the tensions are there, though to some extent hidden.

/Aha, wife of a young /Ti/kay in Band 13 at Gam, and still a young woman herself, had with her fierce jealousy driven /Khoa, the pretty young second wife, wailing into the night, back to her family's scherm. /Ti/kay used to sit for hours upon hours singing soft, sad, sweet laments for /Khoa, but she did not return to live with him.

The behaviour of /Naoka and Di/ai, the wives of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1, was more typical. Both women were approaching middle age, Di/ai somewhat younger than /Naoka. /Naoka had two married daughters and a teen-age son when Gao married Di/ai. The two women obviously disliked each other, but managed to preserve a decent semblance of harmony by self-control, silence, avoiding each other as much as possible in the small space they live in by their fire, and by separating often—going with different groups of relatives and friends to gather wild plant foods, to fetch water, or to visit.

A few men said that the jealousy of co-wives could be so unbearable that they would not marry a second wife, but one said it made him feel good to have two women fighting over him. Most of the men said they wanted more than one wife. They pitied Laurence Marshall because the laws of his land forbade his having several, which they considered him rich enough to afford. One said he would not live where there were such nonsensical rules.

The first wife is considered to have a somewhat more highly esteemed and dominant position. She is supposed to have the right to tell a second wife what to do, and a young second wife should fetch water and wood for the older wife, but I never saw this done.

No property or other material advantage is given a first wife and no important social advantages accrue. For instance, headmanship is inherited by the headman's eldest son by whichever wife he may be borne, and being the mother of a headman does not place a woman above other mothers of sons.

It appeared to me that first wives were often at a disadvantage. Among the people we knew, the husbands favoured their younger, second wives with two exceptions: /Ti/kay of Band 9 favoured his first wife, the elder sister, and Gao, the headman of Band 1, favoured his first wife. Both were good-appeared, intelligent, able women. They appeared to take care of the young girls who were their co-wives, rather than to be served in any way by them. Other older first wives seemed sometimes to be dejected. One told me her husband always took the young second wife with him and, to her deep humiliation, sometimes left her, the first wife, to stay for a time with one or another family in the band, although she said to him, 'Why do you shame me so?'

None of the /Kung women informants expressed enthusiasm for polygyny. Each wanted a husband to herself. They did not expound the social advantage which

/139 cont./

372 are made in one of the sticks, and the rounded end of the other stick fits into them. [Figs. 1, 2, and 3 appear here.]

The first stick is placed on the ground and held down with both feet. The other stick is placed with its round end in one of the hollows, and it is twirled as rapidly as possible between the flat palms of the hands. As can be seen in the picture Photo. 19), the hands slide downward during this process, and frequently a second man immediately starts at the top when the hands of the first operator have moved all the way down. A kind of tinder of thoroughly dried birds' nests (weaver bird?) is placed around the bored hole. The fine dust from the twirling begins to smoulder after a few minutes, and the tinder is then fanned to a flame by blowing with the mouth.

●[622] The "captain" (aichab) of the settlement sees to it that the fire does not go out. A "sacred" fire does not exist. Keeping the fire from going out is a matter of sheer practicality since twirling to make fire is, after all, fairly strenuous.

354 A few stones, which, incidentally, are not found everywhere in the Kalahari, represent the hearth. In rainy weather cooking is done inside the windscreen.

462 The woman does the cooking while the children help her. In exceptional cases the paterfamilias may busy himself at the cooking fire.

On occasion all the members of a family will go out to get water and wood. Construction of the house is purely woman's work. Bachelors' huts are likewise built by the women of the horde.

415 Wooden cooking pots exist. Supposedly they are obtained
439 through barter from the Ambo.

The Auin either carves primitive spoons out of wood himself,
322 or he obtains them through barter from the region of the Ngami
415 [Lake Ngami?]. Frequently special artists at carving are to be
[439] found among the older men. The upper, concave part of a
415 small turtle shell, whose lower, flat side has been cut off, often
[321] serves as a spoon.

These shells are also used as drinking vessels, and, along with hollowed-out tschama, they are the only drinking vessels that I found.

/154 cont./

722 Women were not taken along on the expedition; the women of the settlement attacked immediately ran away.

[622] 701 In time of war the chiefs have general powers of command. Their authority is apparently no greater than in peacetime, when it is insignificant. Indeed, it is scarcely intelligible to us how a war can be carried on effectively under such circumstances.

[888] [756] Old people naturally have greater influence. The "doctor" is merely an accompanying warrior without special authority. Generally speaking, everyone for the most part does what he considers should be done; some co-operation is nevertheless apparent.

There is no fighting at night; at most they will march then.

726 619 Alliances are concluded, even between groups speaking different languages. For instance, men of different Auin settlements will ally themselves with a Naroon [Naron] settlement to attack another Auin settlement.

There is no political connection between all the Auin settlements. They form a single community only by virtue of their common language. For example, bitter hostility exists between the Auin of Gam and the Auin of Rietfontein, while the relations between the Rietfontein Auin and the Naroon settlements south of them are amicable. The two can communicate only through interpreters.

701 Young people who are staying in a given village for courtship participate without ado in the warlike undertakings of this village. I am unable to say what happens in case the undertaking is directed at the home settlement of the candidate for marriage.

Concerning the war dance and the accompanying song, see page 37.

727 Captured men are killed, and usually boys as well (because of the danger of blood vengeance).

Women and children are taken away, married, and completely assimilated into the group. Old women are killed. Objects that are useful are taken away; the rest is destroyed.

It is not worth the trouble to set fire to the windscreens.

728 Hostilities are officially concluded; unarmed negotiators appear to have safe conduct. War damages are paid in the form of food, tools, and women.

The description of the form of government is the most difficult chapter of this account.

/154 cont./

Every Auin adult can really do as he likes on the condition that
622 he does not offend against "good Bushman custom." On the other hand, he recognizes a chief, who, however, has as good as no authority at all. If, however, the chief has a rifle, for example, or if he is a very strong man, he has correspondingly greater influence. I have the impression that the chief acts more as a representative, a position which is of most importance in dealings with the Whites.

The chief has actual sovereign rights, like every other Bushman, only over his wives and children, and over the latter only while they are small.

No tribute or service is rendered, just as there are no external insignia of the chief's office.

The chief's office is hereditary in the male descent group. The office is not inherited until the candidate belongs among the men, that is, after schooling (see below) and after the killing of the first piece of big game. There is no proxy during the minority of the candidate. It works, even so!

/155/ The settlements unite and separate again depending
619 on the circumstances.

The chief of a horde, which is not always united in one
631 village, is called aichabn.

At a gathering of about 1,000 Auin, several chiefs were present. A common supreme chief was lacking.

Evidently it is old families of chiefs that possess these traces of authority. They constitute no special caste and do not belong to a foreign race.

Q. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 The oldest son is the heir of the insignificant legacy, which primarily consists of a few utilitarian objects and hides.

The widow inherits nothing, but she keeps the property she already owns. Younger sons and daughters inherit nothing.

628 Blood vengeance is the basic concept that gives the legal notions their distinctive character. The son is obligated to avenge his slain father; the brother avenges his brother. I was

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE GIRLS
585 initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
881 her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivi-
[591] ties.

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their word; they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
[9] and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[674] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

/19 cont./

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

/20/ Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
[131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika /Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa/, Berlin, 1906.

648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
●622

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself,
who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the
Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year
1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive
help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive
to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is
placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the
body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a
tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as
a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the
Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all
they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When
they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick
tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and
smoke it' " (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
131 of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are
divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend
from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via
Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be
bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--
Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east
inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa
to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season
also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the
Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more
southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to
around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already
settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire. [40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 [439] Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be- [422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 [304] Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out 177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked 415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are 278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen. 805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions; 211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 [614] [688] [623] Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary. To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements BETWEEN THE CHIEF AND THE OTHER OLD MEN.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 25]

[41 cont.]

622 between the chief and the other old men. When the village chief dies, it is not his eldest son, but the eldest son of his sister [Figs. 13 and 14 appear here] who takes over the village.

582 There are certain marriage prohibitions and requirements, which are illustrated by the following schema.

[534]

Fig. 13. Dance Drum of the !Kung (Kuntsas). (Greatly reduced.)

[805]
[211]

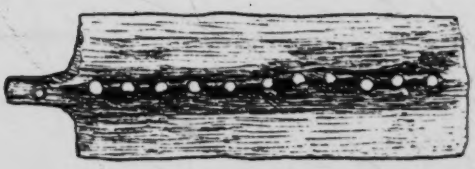

Fig. 14. Calendar Board of the !Kung (actual size [as shown in the original text]).

Father's brother X wife
Brother--sister

Father X mother
A--sister

Father's sister X husband
Cousin (male) -- cousin (female

If A is taken as an example, the children of his father's sister are his cousins. Marriage with these cousins is prohibited. On the other hand, A must marry the father's brother's daughter if she so desires. The man on his part, however, cannot force the

[42 cont.]
000
●622 the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is
372 the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo.
778 Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are
[262] "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a
784 very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language.
Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is
166 available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the
373 village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha
[596] fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they
262 have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha
264 fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave im-
621 mediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the
[462] windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire
he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does.
Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large
game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains
seated there, while the women and children make themselves
comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The
game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and
[262] shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children,
who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is
[622] consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has
the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The
hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has
described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

178 When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the
622 Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight
organization and a common leader. When Captain François went
beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable
support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note
that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of
Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a
Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest
chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

[42 cont.]

178 622 He died when his successor, Amme, was still a small boy. Amme, however, was unable [43] to learn much from his father; he was not a good chief, and he died while still young. Since then the !Kung Bushmen have not had a supreme chief. One of my informants, Doctor X'amme, claimed to be the great-grandson of the great chief of the same name.

The following from Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) should

1. Op. cit., pp. 412, 424.

be mentioned:

593 596 622 "The father is the chief of the family. All must respect him. Children may not call him by name. -- The chief's position is generally passed from father to son. If the son is not yet an adult when his father dies, the father's younger brother takes his place. Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

[276]

Fig. 15. Dacha Pipe of the !Kung Bushmen (from the Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart, 29464).

423 614

"There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 100 kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

χ'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

● 622
782
769 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782
681 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

787
695
684 "If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

≠Auin
Naron
Nogau

[72 cont.]

163 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
591 couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
● 622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker. Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least nominally.

422 Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
685 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial
423 district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand, a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

628 The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
721 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people. [423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such, 621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-||om*, on the [582 other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the 591] chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out 361 on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the [184 *Hei-||om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is [562 reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and [882 boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away 342] from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589 visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various 342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a [462 husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations.

166 When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish 342 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who [625 deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated [312 in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

distribution of the rainfall upon which it is mainly dependent for its food supply.

The Group Fire.

All fire is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft as fire-making is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out. As an illustration of this may be cited the practice as it exists among the *Hei-||om* of the Etosha Pan. When among the latter it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example, after a death has taken place, the whole community take up all their goods and chattels and, led by the *geikhoib* (chief), set off in search for a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*!heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *!norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-!ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*!ou-ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-!ais* and the women may fetch fire from the *!ou-!ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-!ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the *!ou-!ais*. The *!ou-!ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-!ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the *!heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new *!ou-!ais* kindled by him by means of the hei-doros.

372 *hei-doros:* The new *!ou-/ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gāus* 361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case [132] only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield 622 and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos. 372 Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living. 372 Persistent ill-health among the members of the community 622 or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase [751] may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after 777 consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-/ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the hei-doros and applies *≠norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been. 184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is 372 met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life.

593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.

512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.

462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

184 Kalahari only insect poison is used, and further north and
278 north-west only plant poison.

224 All tribes observe certain customary practices in connection
184 with the hunting of animals with bow and arrow. These vary considerably among the different tribes. The following is an account of the practice as met with among the *Hei-||om*. After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *||gãus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals. The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is skinned by the men.
252 The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the purpose, is cut into
237 sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *||gãus* by the men who may occasionally be assisted by the women. On arrival at the *||gãus* all the meat is laid on the ground under the *!heis* either on sticks which were used in carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib*
224 (chief) now comes forward and if he finds that the *!hei-|ais*
622 (fire under the tree) has gone out he returns to his hut, brings
252 fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the meat in the meantime being hung on the *!heis* (tree in centre of camp). After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men—the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and "tastes" (tsũ-tsũ) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *≠koms*.

224 All meat killed with bow and arrow is *so.ra* and may not
262 be partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, however, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *so.ra* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *so.ra*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *so.ra* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the

hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*ǂei-ti*). Her portion is known as the *ǂnoe-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The *ǂnoe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the *ǂkham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The *ǂnoe-di*, however, may not be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *//gāus*. It is not brought under the *!heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *ǂkham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women partake of any other meat than the *ǂnoe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu* (youths) is known as *!om-//gani* and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles, etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the *!heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him and if he eats any other part, *e.g.*, the *ǂkoms* he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions about two finger breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis* may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*, under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under the *!heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib* and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by the members of an outlying *//gāus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the *//gāus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gāus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

224 visits a *//gãus* for this purpose he kindles the *!hei-/ais*
822 with fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own.

224 Any want of success in the chase is generally attributed to
777 some chance incident. For example, a man, who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife had her periods, will not hunt again when she is in that condition nor will she eat any of the *ǂnoe-di* at such times. The meat of an animal
262 killed by a dog may not be eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating. This prohibition is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. If, however, an animal is killed with bow and arrow after having been brought at bay by a dog, the meat is *so.ra* and women may eat the *ǂnoe-di*. The remains of an animal killed by a lion are not *so.ra* and may be partaken of by all individuals. Care, however, is taken not to offend the lion which likewise observes certain practices after each kill. After having had his fill he buries the sacrum and haunchbones and covers them over with the dung (stomach contents) of the animal. If he should be unsuccessful in hunting his prey he returns to the spot of the last kill, digs up the buried parts and inters them in another place. This he does to restore his luck and if he should find that the bones have been taken away he will follow the person who removed them right into the *//gãus*.

184 *So.ra* applies only to meat killed with bow and arrow and
224 as far as is known at present this practice exists among the
262 *Xom-khoin*, */Koma-khoin* and *Gi-gara-khoin*. Among these
784 groups the meat of the following animals is *so.ra*, namely, steinbuck, duiker, springbuck, hartebeest, gemsbuck, kudu, wildebeest and giraffe. The eland, which is a comparatively rare visitor to the parts occupied by these groups is not killed at all by the *Xom-khoin* who believe that harm will befall any person who eats its meat. In other words the *Xom-khoin* consider the eland to be absolute *so.ra*. Among other groups the man who shoots an eland must, on returning to the *//gãus*, sleep under the *!heis* as intercourse with his wife will prevent the poison from killing the animal. The same applies to a person who shoots a giraffe.

412 The implements and utensils which are used in the collection and preparation of food are very few in number. Vegetable food is dug up with a sharpened stick, 2 to 5 feet in length.
252 Ôintjes. *//ñoun* and other similar plant foods are roasted in hot ashes covered with cinders. Ants (Bushman rice) are dealt with in a similar manner and then recovered again by means of a sieve of grass matting. Locusts are either roasted or boiled. Frogs, etc., are sometimes roasted over the fire on a wooden spit (braaistok) stuck into the ground. Birds, snakes, small antelope, etc., are prepared by placing them in a hollow made in the ashes with a flat paddle-shaped wooden scoop and covering them over with live coals. The meat of larger

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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159 Toma the headman, sometimes known as Male Toma, an [55] honorary name, sometimes known as Toma the Short, so-called because of his stocky build, was a famous person, and once had been a serf. He was born of serf parents at Gam, and as a boy had worked for the Chuanas, drawing their water and herding their cattle and goats.

672 When Toma was a boy, his father was murdered by a 682 child, the result of a terrible accident which took place one 159 day when Toma's father was arguing with the father of a boy named Gao. Gao, who couldn't have been more than ten years old, became upset and angry when he heard his father quarreling and, taking his father's weapons, shot Toma's father in the chest with a poisoned arrow. The old man was helped to the shade, the arrow was drawn out and the wound sucked, but as there is no antidote for arrow poison the old man lived only for the rest of the day and by night he was dead.

Oddly enough, the crime was connected with the old man and not with Gao, the young murderer, for ever after that day the old man was referred to as Tsamko Bone Arrow, [55] while Gao in later years became known as Gao Wild Pig, after a pig he had killed which was in some way remarkable.

159 Toma flourished as a young man and became an excellent hunter with tireless legs, tireless eyes, and a deadly aim, and it was said of him that he never returned from a hunt without having killed at least a wildebeest, if not something larger. Hence, the people connected with him ate a great deal of meat and his popularity grew. He once said of himself: "From the day I was born I was born for meat."

159 When Toma was in his late teens, some say, his powers 622 in hunting attracted the attention of the headman of Gau- 591 tscha Pan, who offered Toma the hand of his daughter, Tu, in marriage. Toma accepted, went to live with his wife's peo-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ple, according to custom, and, when the old headman died, took over the leadership of the people in the area. He was not the true headman—his position would not be inherited by his son, for headmanship is passed only from father to son—but he was recognized as headman while he lived and it was a great honor to him that this was so.

Tu's brother was the rightful headman of Gautscha, but he had abdicated to live with his wife's people in the north. Her elder sister's husband, a man named Gao Big Feet, also had a right to the leadership in that his wife, Dikai, was older than Tu. But neither ever contested Toma's position as leader, for it was not a position which Toma held by force or pressure but simply by his wisdom and ability, and people prospered under him. No Bushman wants prominence, but Toma went further than most in avoiding prominence; he had almost no possessions and gave away everything that came into his hands. He was diplomatic, for in exchange for his self-imposed poverty he won the respect and following of all the people there. He enjoyed his position, and, being strangely free from the normal strains and jealousies of Bushmen, he saw justice clearly and hence he led his people well. At Gautscha his werf had been right beside the werf of his father's murderer, for Toma was friendly even with him.

Toma had a short, stocky body and a shock of tangled hair. He was strong, too, and very co-ordinated, so that every motion he made was quick and controlled, and not a gesture of his was wasted. As a result of this enormous and unconscious control, accidents almost never happened to him. His face was broad, lined with many deep wrinkles at the corners of his eyes and mouth as though from smiling, though it was not from smiling that he got them but from years of squinting at the sun. His expression was usually dark and wondering, his forehead drawn intently into a frown, but

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

sometimes he would abandon his gravity and laugh a high, reaching laugh that one could hear from far away, a laugh that came from his very soul, or, as Bushmen say, from his stomach. He listened diplomatically and intently whenever he was spoken to, staring at the gound, and had a habit of echoing, in a loud falsetto voice, the important phrases of every sentence he was told.

"We went to Keitsa Pan," someone might say to him.

"To Keitsa," Toma would reply.

". . . and we slept there, but the blind flies were very bad . . ."

"Oh, bad, bad . . ."

". . . but in the morning we saw two porcupines . . ."

". . . yes, porcupines . . ."

". . . and we killed them there. We made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry."

Toma was considered to be very fortunate in his marriage. Of course it was through his wife, Tu, that he gained the leadership of the Gautscha people, his life free in the veld rather than in serfdom, and his two young sons, but besides all this his wife was beautiful, having a smooth face and great, clear eyes like a cat. Also, she was five feet tall, considered to be a very desirable height, and although no Bushman has ever been too fat, Tu was not too thin and her arms and legs were round. She had soft blue scars curving on her forehead which made her eyes seem to lift at the corners, and blue scars on her thighs that showed when she walked. Her chief virtues, in the eyes of Bushmen, were that she decorated herself with ornaments in her hair and kept her hands and face washed, thus demonstrating that she cared what she looked like, rather than letting herself go now that she was married. To show that she observed propriety, cared what

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DELOUSING is a courtesy among kinsmen: the salty-tasting lice are eaten.

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There are about 1,000 !Kung—gathered into 28 bands—who build their ephemeral camps, or *werft*'s, separately in an area of 10,000 square miles. The houses in the *werft*'s are of grass, pressed over a framework of sticks, making small quarter-shells, with their backs to the prevailing wind. Gossamer things, made of the same grass that sways and crowds against their doors, they are positioned in a loose pattern according to their occupants' kinship, and all are held—finally—by the headman, who builds his shelter under the tallest tree.

●[622]

From a little distance, when the sound of voices is lost on the wind, one would not know a *werft* was near. The people never return to the same *werft*—preferring to build anew and saying it would not be safe from the spirits of the dead, or sanitary, to do so. Perhaps, also, they find it sad to see the little houses toppling, day by day, into the grass of the new year.

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AS A STARTING POINT, labor among the !Kung is divided between two basic subsistence activities—hunting game and gathering *veldkos*. Men hunt, because their bodies are better suited to the chase. Women gather, because they could not leave their children for the long periods of hunting that men both enjoy and endure.

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Women's work—the technology of gathering—is simple and adaptable: the tools are easily acquired, the methods quickly learned. The constant necessity to provide and the almost daily edge of effort slowly bends the

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
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The headman of each band is considered to "own" a waterhole. What he is considered to "own," is both the water and the *veldkos* of the district. The ground itself is described as *chi dole*, worthless. Headmanship is hereditary, the headman being the oldest son of the previous headman although, if the male line is cut off for a generation, headmanship is passed through the eldest daughter to her eldest son. But head-

[p. 72]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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manship is different from leadership, which is not hereditary. Leadership depends heavily on a man's character, his hunting prowess, and especially his ability to focus people's opinions. Usually headman and leader are the same person but, should a headman be too young—perhaps still in his mother's womb—or very old, a band will have a separate leader.

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Theoretically, the right to refuse water to members of another band

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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belongs to the headman, although we never saw this done nor did we ever hear of such a thing. Neither leadership nor headmanship implies any overt coercive power over the other members of a band. Only as a sort of coagulation of group opinion can headman or leaders exert a control —which, even then, is not final. The leader, being the kind of person to whom others come when decisions must be made, is often an arbiter, in

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208 quarrels, a focal point in discussion of plans, a comfort to the bereaved and a strength for those in doubt.

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602 The functions of headman, as headman, are of a different nature. In order to take up residence with a band, a person must have certain ties of kin with members of the band.
[591] Such a person may live with his own parents or siblings, or with his wife's parents or siblings. It is a wide choice, providing for flexibility—but within limits. There are, of course, exceptions, and visitors from other bands are never denied, but possession of some kinship tie seems to be a general requirement for residence which,

626 horror to a !Kung! The worst dream might be to see the fires flickering in the *werft* at midnight and be unable to go to them. All the people we knew could tell us of only one time when such a departure from the group occurred: and the man had gone insane, had murdered and then run raving into the veld. There he had lived for a little while in a hole, then died.

[158]

622 423 It is in connection with the need to live widely spread over the land that the !Kung headman's functions are peculiar. There is one essential qualification to headmanship, in addition to heredity. A headman cannot leave his waterhole to join another

[p. 81]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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423 band and still remain a headman, for he, in his person, does not possess headmanship. It is only when a person is *born* headman, and in association with his waterhole, that he assumes the full authority of headmanship. We have seen that headmen were considered to "own" the water and *veldkos* of a district. I believe this association is another way of expressing what the !Kung mean by "own": the headman is the symbol of a place.

In the same manner that a headman "owns" a district, he also "owns" other geographical features of the country. These include pans that fill during the rains, *veldkos*

areas, baobab trees, and—most important—*mangetti* trees that hold water in their trunks, and *tsi* areas. It is these "owned" features, and the direction from the waterhole in which they lie, that define a territory. Since, as we have seen, *mangetti*'s and *tsi* are the most important !Kung resources, they are the main determinants of a direction.

But animals are *not* owned. Neatly bounded sections of the countryside are *not* owned. A territory, therefore can best be defined as the combination of a permanent waterhole and a direction: the !Kung so define it by the word "side." One headman's territory is said to be on this "side."

JUST as the Kalahari's scant resources of food and water are distributed in accordance with a geographical pattern, the !Kung bands are distributed in accordance with both a geographical and a social pattern. Natural resources are the focal points in the geographical pattern of band distribution: headmen are the focal points in the social pattern. In a sense, headmen tie together the two patterns, the concept of headmanship being the embodiment of a certain quantity of resources in a person around whom a band can take shape and operate. Because of their kin ties with a headman, the people living round him, clustering their *skerms* around his and moving with him over his territory, feel right in being where they are.

The headman receives no special privileges. He is no more wealthy than other men. If he is a leader, he may assume responsibility and speak out. But, as headman, he need not speak, for headmanship is a silent office and while the headman lives—by his waterhole or out somewhere on his territory with his band—he serves his whole purpose.

Most of the permanent waterholes have two !Kung bands associated with them, and the *tsi* areas are likewise shared by bands from the same and different waterholes. Such sharing may come about because two brothers (only one of whom may be the true headman) live together and feel they possess joint claims. It may come about through the passage of time, which confuses genealogies and lets claims, once tenuous, become firm through usage. The !Kung are a people of present tense, living—in their minds as well as with their

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THIS paper describes customs, practised by the /Kung Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region of South Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the /Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.[1]

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly apparent among the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,[2] does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The /Kung are also extremely dependent emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to their group, free from hostility or rejection.

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy, or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. /Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a, when she was sick. When /U had a baby, her sister, Di/ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Kham, falls down and do not help him up. /U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died.

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The

[1] This description of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the /Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

[2] Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Band Organization', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together.

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow.

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder.

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed.

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters.

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

another through the seasons, always going back and forth between food and water, they carry their young children and their belongings. With plenty of most materials at hand to replace artifacts as required, the /Kung have not developed means of permanent storage and have not needed or wanted to encumber themselves with surpluses or duplicates. They do not even want to carry one of everything. They borrow what they do not own. With this ease, they have not hoarded, and the accumulation of objects has not become associated with status. Instead of keeping things, they use them to express generosity and friendly intent, and to put people under obligation to make return tokens of friendship. And, even more specifically, in my opinion, they mitigate jealousy and envy, to which they are prone, by passing things on to others. These are the objectives in gift-giving.

Except, as ≠Toma said, that it would be surprising to see a man give a present to a woman who was not related to him (and vice versa, I imagine), anyone may give to anyone. Degree or kind of kinship or affinity, having the joking relationship or lacking it, impose no requirements or restrictions, nor does status in the community in a conventional way. We did hear people say, however, that a headman may feel that he should lean well to the generous side in his giving, for his position as headman sets him out from the others a little and he wants whatever attention this attracts not to be envious. Someone remarked that this could keep a headman poor.

The times of giving are determined almost entirely by the individual's convenience. The /Kung do not know their birthdays or anniversaries and have no special days of the year which they mark by giving gifts. Gifts are required by convention on only three ceremonial occasions. The type or quantity of the gift is not patterned but it should be generous. The occasions are betrothals and weddings, when the parents exchange gifts and give to the young couple, and the ceremony of a baby's first haircut, when the */gu/na*, the person for whom the baby is named, should give him a fine present.

Relatives give to young people with the idea of setting them up in life. Gao Beard gave a spear and a kaross to his FaSiHuSo, saying it was his duty to see that the boy got some things because among the boy's relatives he was the most able to do so. The boy's father was very old, he explained. People expect to wait a long time for young people to make return gifts.

The two rigid requirements in gift-giving are that one must not refuse a proffered gift and that one must give in return. Demi said that, even if he might prefer not to be obligated to someone, he would accept and prepare to make his return gift. If a gift were to be refused, he continued, the giver would be terribly angry. He would say, ' Something is very wrong here.' This could involve whole groups in tensions, bad words, taking sides—even ' a talk ' might occur—just what the /Kung do not want. Demi said it does not happen: a /Kung never refuses a gift. And a /Kung does not fail to give in return. ≠Toma said that would be ' neglecting friendship '. A person would know that others thought him ' far-hearted ' and ' this would worry him '.

In reciprocating one does not give the same object back again but something of comparable value. The interval of time between receiving and reciprocating varied from a few weeks to a few years. Propriety requires that there be no unseemly haste. The giving must not look like trading.

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A Headman ǂToma is the leader of the main Guatscha band.

142 males average approximately five feet, two inches) with yellowish brown skin that becomes heavily wrinkled in old age. They have very little facial and body hair, and their short, black, head hair is so curly it spirals into peppercorn tufts. The Bushman face is flat and triangular; the brown eyes are set rather wide apart. A variety of eye folds narrow the apertures of the eyes. The nose is extremely broad with a very low bridge, the lips are everted but not protruding or only slightly so, and the ear is somewhat square in shape with a deeply rolled rim (helix). The Bushman body and limbs are slender; the frame is delicate. A notable feature is the inward curve of the small of the back. The penis is semierect. In women there is what is called the "Hottentot apron" (elongation of the *labia minora*). Steatopygia (fat on the buttocks) is invariably mentioned in the literature as one of the important physical characteristics of Bushman and Hottentot women and recorded as being very prominently developed in some. By comparison with the extreme examples that are seen among some Hottentot women and in illustrations, the northern and central Bushman women whom we observed did not have marked steatopygia, although some had buttocks that could be called plump.

197 LANGUAGE • Bushman languages and those of the Hottentots are classified as a language family known as Click or Khoisan (Greenberg 1955:80). [194] Clicks are so unusual as to be almost unique to Bushman and Hottentot (they occur also in two East African languages—Sandawe and Hatsa—according to Greenberg) and are so distinguishing a feature of these languages that much attention is given them.

194 The Khoisan clicks, striking implosive sounds, are velaric suction stops 197 (Heffner 1960:119; cf. Beach 1938:73 ff.). The northern and central Bushman languages have four, made with the tongue, as follows: the dental (/), lateral (//), alveolar (!), and palatal (ǂ). The southern Bushman lan-

[p. 244]

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A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival, for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bushmen cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local groupings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within themselves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ǒassi* and who live in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

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The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or *tsi*, the men always ac-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae region relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water. The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

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properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen—sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /õassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */õassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

There is not much property to inher[illegible] Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A considerable amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

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thighs, up the buttocks to the waist, and on the cheeks and forehead. 304
The !Kung say the stripes are made only for beauty" and are in imitation of gemsbok—big, stately gray antelopes with spectacular black markings.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The only social grouping above the family in 621
!Kung society is the autonomous band. A band is a group of families who live together, linked to one another and to the headman by kinship bonds, in a manner that will be illustrated presently. Nuclear families do not live alone among the !Kung. An extended family might do so, if it were a strong unit with enough young hunters and gatherers to sustain it; it would then be a band. Most of the Nyae Nyae bands were composed of several families [162] and ranged in size from twenty or twenty-five to fifty or sixty members.

Each band belongs to its own territory, or, we can say, owns its territory 621
and the resources within it. Two or more bands may belong to the same 622
territory. The focus of the band's ownership of the territory is the headman, 623
who is called *kxau* (owner). He does not own the resources as private, individual property is owned, to withhold or give as he pleases. Members born to the band have a kind of inalienable right of their own to the resources. The headman personifies those rights and gives them organization and continuity. The continuity is expressed by the attachment of the headmanship to the territory. If a headman leaves the territory to live elsewhere—except temporarily for bride service—he ceases to be headman and the headmanship falls on someone else who remains in the territory.

!Kung society accords to the headman the authority to coordinate the 622
movements of his own people in relation to their consumption of resources, and his chief duty is to plan when and where the band will move. He should protect the resources from encroachment from outsiders.

When the band moves, the headman's position is at the head of the line. He chooses the site for the new werf and has the first choice of a spot for his own fire and scherm. He has no other rewards or prerogatives. He carries his own load and is as thin as the rest.

It is not a headman's duty, as headman, to instigate or organize hunting parties, trading trips, the making of artifacts, or gift giving, nor does he make marriage arrangements. Individuals instigate their own activities. A 622
headman is not in any formalized way a judge of his people, nor must he 627
punish a wrongdoer. He may have great influence, if he is an effective leader, but wrongdoing is judged and controlled by public opinion, usually expressed in talk. Occasionally a person who is wronged seeks to avenge himself by fighting, which is greatly deplored.

If a headman is too young or too old, or lacks personal qualities of 622

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622 leadership, the people may turn quite informally to some other man for leadership in their daily life—ask him for help and advice, fall in with his plans. Such a leader has no authority and receives no honors or rewards.

Headmanship is inherited by the eldest son from the father. If that son dies or leaves the band, the headmanship passes to the next eldest son.

No strictly formulated rules, insofar as we know, provide for further succession. We have no observations of our own of situations in which a headman had no son.[10]

622 621 571 The rule of succession does not provide for a headmanship to pass collaterally to a headman's younger brother. However, a younger brother may set up a band of his own in the same territory if he does not prefer to live under the headmanship of his older brother or if he does not continue to live with his wife's people. The younger brother has his own rights to the veldkos and water that derive from his father and he can share them with his family and band. Nevertheless, as long as a son of the headman in rightful succession is living in the territory, he has higher authority and is responsible for the overall planning. Should the principal headman's band die out or realign itself, the collateral band led by the younger brother would become the principal one.

621 622 602 571 The bonds that bring the !Kung into membership in bands are the same consanguineous and affinal bonds on which a nuclear family is formed: the bonds of parent-offspring, siblings, and spouses. Everyone who lives in a !Kung band is linked by one of these bonds with the headman, sometimes directly or sometimes in a chainlike manner through one or two other persons. A description of a typical band will illustrate this point. Band II [162] of Gautscha has forty-one members. The headman, Gao Beard, has two [592] wives and four young children. With Gao Beard live his younger brother, one of his younger sisters, each with spouse and children, and his elderly, dependent and widowed mother. Gao asked his first wife's father, Old ≠Toma, whom he likes very much, to join his band. Old ≠Toma brought with him into the band his wife, a married son with wife and child, two younger sons, his wife's sister, and her son by a now divorced husband. [583] He also brought sixteen other persons—Gau and his people. Gau belongs to another band but was at the time living in Band II because he had married, as a second wife, Old ≠Toma's wife's sister and, middle-aged though they are, he was in bride service to her people. After a time Gau can choose whether to stay on in Band II or to go back to the band in which he originated. He said that he thought he would decide to stay with Old ≠Toma and Gao Beard because he likes Old ≠Toma and because Gao Beard has a mangetti grove.

621 423 People retain throughout their lives their membership in the band in which they were born and their rights to its veldkos and water resources.

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the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the !Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy.

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts.

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband step-brother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself.

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty.

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees.

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people

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refer to one woman as a "headman"), nor does her husband. A headman's daughter, as it were, holds the place until her son is born to fill it. Primogeniture would be in force: the eldest daughter's son would take precedence over a younger daughter's son. If a daughter's husband is an effective person by nature, he could lead the band and perform the functions of headman indefinitely. The band, on the other hand, might find it more advantageous not to wait for a son to be born to the headman's daughter but to realign itself under another headman. Within the proper frame of kinship this is a voluntary matter.

(11) I paraphrase some of the prayers as follows:

"You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you lead me in the wrong way so that I find no animals?"

"Give rain, *!Nau*, wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water hole where there is no more veldkos. You have favored some people with rain. Will you not favor us?"

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621 /gom or omungete nut; and the xom-khoin the people who xom or
101 scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the
[114] literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

619 These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes".
101 A tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language. Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central linguistic groups this usually ends in the word */ke* or *kwe* respectively, i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they inhabit. The *//ŋ /ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the */tannekwe* the "river people"; the *Hiechwars* the "people of the open country", and the */o /kŭ* the "forest people", while the */kŭ* (*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name "Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the
[177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and *//om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees; while the term *Naron*, by which the *//aikwe* now sometimes speak of themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social
[197] solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen, nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common language and name.

621 The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the
[623] skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In
[622] the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 30.

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office is hereditary. His authority is very slight, and apparently exercised mainly in regulating the movements of the people from place to place, and in leading in war.

Each band also acts as a unit in its relations with other bands of the same or of neighbouring tribes, and in such relations it is collectively responsible for the actions of any of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the bands concerned, and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. Occasionally, it is true, a weak band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature.[1]

The band is also the land-owning group. Each band possesses its own hunting territory, to which it is restricted, and exercises authority over and specific rights within this territory only.[2] The members of the band roam about freely all over their own land, but do not trespass on their neighbours' territory, although single persons and small parties may occasionally pay short visits across the border, mostly for trading purposes. As a result of this territorial segregation it may often happen that the more widely separated bands of a tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct contact with each other.

There are no special boundary marks between the areas occupied by different hunting bands. The limits of each area are as a rule defined by various natural landmarks, such as sand dunes, koppies, river-beds, vleis, springs, or even trees. These are well known to the people themselves and carefully observed. In some cases the areas of different bands are separated by neutral zones, formed by belts of trees, open flats, watercourses, etc. Nobody will venture into these except during the course of a visit. In particular, however, each hunting territory is defined by the waterholes in it. These constitute the real property of the band. The encampments are always erected near them, all the game on the land around them or drinking at the water may be hunted only by members of the band, and similarly only they may gather "veldkos" (wild vegetable foods) in the vicinity. The infringement of territorial rights in this respect is one of the main causes of dispute between neighbouring bands, and almost invariably leads to bloodshed.

[1] The relations between different bands are discussed more fully below in Chapter VI, s.v. "Relations with Other Bands"; vide p. 155

[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 156; Passarge, op. cit., 31–2; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 4; Fourie, "The Bushmen," 85; Lebzelter "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer. (12).

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166 territory occupied by the band its members roam about freely in
361 search of food, and family groups often separate from the main body
621 to wander about on their own account for a while. Of the Naron, for example, Miss Bleek writes that she has "sometimes seen three or four huts together, sometimes twenty, with from sixty to eighty inhabitants. Every few weeks a new hut appears, or a vacant space shows where one has gone"; and she adds that as the village is such a fluctuating quantity it is difficult to estimate the numbers of a band or a tribe.[1] Indeed it seems to be a feature in the life of some of the Northern tribes that during the dry season the families in the band scatter about separately, to come together again only in the rainy
[221] season, when there is an ample supply of water and "veldkos". Thus among the Auen only one or two families may be found living together in the dry season, while towards the end of and shortly after the rainy season, when the edible plants of the veld are abundant, up to thirty families may join together.[2] It is thus by no means unusual to find several small encampments of members of the same band scattered about over its hunting territory, a fact which may easily mislead casual observers with regard to its numbers.

On the other hand, it also appears that at times members of several
361 different bands may come together for a while. Passarge mentions
619 that in 1897, during an outbreak of rinderpest when cattle were
621 dying in great numbers in the Ghansiveld, Bushmen were drawn together from all parts of the vicinity by the abundance of animal food thus provided. At one spot he saw between one and two hundred of them, at another about one hundred, and these included both Auen and Naron.[3] In the Kwebe Hills, again, his camp was passed by about one hundred men returning to the Hainaveld from the sandveld. Together with their women and children this group must therefore have numbered from three to four hundred.[4] It is almost certain that these people too must have belonged to different bands and had only come together temporarily, but this is not definitely stated by Passarge. Kaufmann, again, mentions a camp of Auen at Sidonitsaub which in April, 1908, contained about four hundred men, or with women and children about one thousand persons
[622] all told. That these belonged to a number of different bands was

[1] *The Naron*, 4.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 138; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 42; Vialls, "Kalahari Masarwas," 30.
[3] Op. cit., 7, 8.
[4] Op. cit., 10.

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obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal groupings of the Bushmen.

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family, moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned, single families will often roam about separately for a while within the territory of their band.

The relationship between the different families constituting a band is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular the information available about the kinship organization of the Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship, also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot therefore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw

[1] Op. cit., 138, 155. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, German official estimate), and cannot therefore be accepted without question.

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1924), 57–70.

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mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.[1] Most of the Bushmen, however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink.

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."[2]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.[3]

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on a definite plan.[4] As a rule all the members of the band live in a common encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */hais*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp. "This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.
[3] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 30–2; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[4] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

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exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*/hei*s) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*/ou-/ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this */hei*s. Under it is made the first fire (*/hei-/ais*) on the establishment of a new *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 32. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4–5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 32; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

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Cooking

252 is done chiefly by the women, assisted by the children; in exceptional
[462] cases the men also may cook. Wild cucumbers, nuts, bulbs, and similar plant foods are baked in hot ashes covered with cinders. A bright fire is made and allowed to die down, a hole is scraped in the ashes with a flat, paddle-shaped wooden scoop, the food put in and covered over. It is then eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge, after being pounded up in wooden mortars or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood. Birds, snakes, small antelopes, etc., are baked in the same manner; ants are similarly treated, and then sifted through a mat of loosely-woven reeds, while locusts are either baked or boiled. *Grewia* berries are sometimes eaten as picked, stone and all, sometimes stamped in the mortar and swallowed uncooked. Some specially dainty kinds of meat are roasted over the fire on a wooden spit stuck into the ground. Other kinds of meat, again, as well as stamped
[489] locusts, *tsama* seeds and foods obtained from the white man, such as mealie meal, are cooked with water.

The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a
415 [439] paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron in their more primitive condition used wooden pots, made by themselves or obtained by barter; while among the more Northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found. The actual manufacture of clay pots by the
[184] Bushmen themselves seems to have been restricted to the tribes
[323] south of the Molopo. Food is eaten direct from the pot or from plates
[264] and bowls made of wood. Wooden spoons are sometimes found among the Northern tribes, but generally either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Fire is everywhere made by drilling a thin hard stick in another,
372 somewhat softer, in which there is a notch (Plate IX). This second stick is held firmly on the ground by one foot, while the drill-stick with its lower end pressed into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the hands until sparks come. A little dry grass is in readiness to catch the spark, and when it has caught alight dry wood is gradually added until a good fire has been set going.

In this connection reference must be made to certain special
372 observances relating to fire which have recently been recorded by
622 Fourie about the Heikum. "All fire," he says,[1] "is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to

[1] Op. cit., 87.

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use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft, as firemaking is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out." 372 622

As an illustration he cites[1] the practices existing among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan. Here, when it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example after a death has taken place, the whole community takes up all its goods and chattels, and, led by the *gei-khoib* (chief), sets off in search of a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. " The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*/heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *!norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-/ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*!ou-/ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-/ais* and the women may fetch fire from the */ou-/ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-/ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the */ou-/ais*. The */ou-/ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-/ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the */heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new */ou-/ais* kindled

166 361 622 [768] 372 622 [276] [621]

[1] Op. cit., 87–8; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 32–3.

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372 by him by means of the *hei-doros*. The new */ou-/ais* now serves to
622 supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gaus* 361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case only in 221 times of drought when the game has moved far afield and great 672 difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos. Further, people 622 driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gaus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the */ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.

622 " Persistent ill-health among the members of the community or diffi-
372 culty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the */ou-/ais*, are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new */ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the *hei-doros* and applies */norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it has been."

114 " The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire, "
372 Fourie goes on to say, " is met with among all the organized primitive
622 groups " of Bushmen in South-West Africa. The only previous information hinting at observances of this kind is found in a curt statement by Kaufmann that among the Auen the " captain " of a village sees to it that the fire does not go out. But he adds that there is no " sacred " fire, and attributes the guarding of the fire against extinction to the practical inconveniences of the method employed in making it.[1] Quite recently, however, Lebzelter has reported the occurrence of similar observances among the Kung, although his remarks on the subject are very scanty. He states merely that the Kung, like the Bergdama, have the sacred fire round which only the men may sit. " When the camp is moved," he concludes, " the head of the group takes with him a brand from this fire "[2]—presumably to use it for

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 139; " Der 'Kapitän' (Aichab) der Werft achtet darauf, dass das Feuer nicht ausgeht. Ein 'heiliges' Feuer ist nicht vorhanden. Die Bewahrung des Feuers vor dem Verlöschen geschieht lediglich aus praktischen Gründe, da das Feuerquirlen immerhin ziemlich anstrengend ist."

[2] " Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 14: " Wie die Honigkaffern haben auch die !Kuh das Sochafeuer. Es ist dies das heilige Feuer, bei dem nur die Männer sein dürfen. Wenn die Werft übersiedelt, dann nimmt das Werftoberhaupt einen Feuerbrand mit Sochafeuer mit."

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lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum.

There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero, OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular, the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain exclusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing the political institutions of the Bushmen.

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain (unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating

[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

on the ground under the */heis* either on sticks which were used in carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib* (chief) now comes forward and if he finds that the */hei-/ais* (fire under the tree) has gone out he returns to his hut, brings fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the meat in the meantime being hung on the */heis* (tree in centre of camp). After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men—the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and 'tastes' (*tsa-tsa*) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *!koms*.

"All meat killed with bow and arrow is *soxa* [taboo] and may not be partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, however, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *soxa* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *soxa*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *soxa* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*/ei-ti*). Her portion is known as the */noe-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The */noe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the *!kham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The */noe-di*, however, may not be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *//gaus*. It is not brought under the */heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *!kham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women partake of any other meat than the */noe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an

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224 animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu*
262 (youths) is known as */om-//gani*, and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles,
224 etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at
252 the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the
262 animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the */heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him, and if he eats any other part, e.g. the *ǂkoms*, he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions of about two finger-breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis*
[574] may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*,
[264] under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under the */heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is
[841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib*, and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

"A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by
224 the members of an outlying *//gaus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to
262 taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the
622 *//gaus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gaus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he visits a *//gaus* for this purpose he kindles the */hei-/ais* with
[372] fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own."

114 Apart from the light it throws upon certain functions of the chief,
224 this account illustrates admirably both the existence of special ritual observances in regard to game killed in the chase, and the fact that
[622] food obtained in this way is shared among all the people present at the encampment. This latter feature has also been noted by other writers on the different Bushman tribes,[1] and it can safely be asserted

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 55; Kaufmann, op. cit., 155–6 D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, pp. viii–ix; *idem*, *The Naron*, 16.

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595 is the rule, but a second wife is not considered wrong; it is thought better for a man in such a case to marry the younger sister of his first wife, then the two will not quarrel.[1] Further east in this tribe three or four wives are not infrequent, and actually a man often marries the sisters and "cousins" of his first wife.[2] The Auen at Rietfontein all have only one wife, "because of the scarcity of food," while those at Gam on the average have two, and sometimes even five wives. The wife first married holds a higher social position than the rest, which may, however, says Kaufmann, be due merely to her greater age.[3] Among the Kung a second wife may be taken, if the first consents; but owing to the difficulty of providing for more than one wife, adds Lebzelter, polygynous marriages are extremely rare.[4] Of the Heikum, again, Fourie tells us that each man as a rule has two wives, who may or may not be related. The second wife is married some time after the first, who is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over her. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife, and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation.[5] Polygynous marriages are also found among the !O Kung of Angola and among the Hiechware, but are here said to be comparatively rare.[6]

The occurrence of such marriages implies a numerical [114] preponderance of women, or else that some of the men must remain [162] bachelors; but unfortunately in no instance are figures given to show the proportion of men and women, or even of monogamous and polygynous marriages, within the band. The motives for polygyny are also not clearly defined. We are told, however, that ● [622] chiefs among the Naron mostly had two wives,[7] so that here it may be [554] partly associated with rank; while among the Auen, and probably also among the Heikum, the second wife is often not taken until the first is old and past child-bearing. A similar statement is made by Barrow about the Cape Bushmen.[8] In such cases naturally only the older men have more than one wife.

582 The Cape and the Namib Bushmen, as previously mentioned, are said to forbid marriage only between own brother and sister, parent and child; and so do the !O Kung of Angola. Beyond this no special prohibition or injunction appears to exist. Among the Heikum, on the other hand, the range of forbidden relatives is extended to include all cousins and nieces; while in all the North-Western tribes, including

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34. [2] Passarge, op. cit., 106. [3] Op. cit., 157. [4] Op. cit., 13–14.
[5] Op. cit., 92. [6] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112; Dornan, op. cit., 124.
[7] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37. [8] Loc. cit.

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224 returning to the camp, sleep under the central tree and avoid sexual intercourse with his wife, lest the poison prove ineffective and the animal escape. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be [841] eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating; this is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. Any want of success is generally attributed to some chance accident; for example, a man who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife was menstruating will not hunt again while she is in that condition, nor will she eat any of the *!noe-di* at such times.[1]

These practices and beliefs obviously represent only a small portion of what must be an elaborate series of usages relating to hunting, but they suffice to indicate how the Bushmen, fully aware of the uncertainty attendant upon their efforts, seek to relieve their apprehensions and to obtain confidence by the aid of magic and taboo.

Collecting

224 Hunting in the old days was unquestionably the principal source
136 of subsistence in Bushman life. But with the decrease of the game
648 in their region and with the enforcement against them of the game
222 laws framed by the white man, its importance is diminishing, and at the present time the Bushmen depend very largely for the means of existence on the wild vegetable foods growing in the veld.

[241] Agriculture in any form is altogether unknown to them in their
222 traditional mode of life. The nearest they have got to it is found
224 in the practice observed by the North-Western tribes of burning the
311 veld at the end of the dry season.[2] This, it is said, is done primarily in order that the edible bulbs, roots, etc., should come up better during the approaching rainy season. It is also used, however, as a means of hunting, for the men spread round the fire in a semicircle and drive all the game rushing from it before them in a certain direction where some hunters are lying in wait; moreover, the new grass growing soon after the burning attracts the game, which returns to the area, and thus makes it good hunting ground. Incidentally the burning serves to kill off snakes, scorpions, and other noxious creatures. Men may only [423] burn in their own territory; to do so across the border, or to gather wood where others have burned, is a great offence. In former times, ● [622] among the Naron, the chiefs are said to have regulated the burning;

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 102.
[2] Jedtka, "Reise nach dem Okavango," *D. KolBl.*, xiii (1902), 491; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147, 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 17.

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nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally passes as an accident.

The collection of veldkos is done by both men and women; but whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. The digging-sticks they use are from 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, locusts, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire.

Among the Heikum the following ceremony is observed in connection with the gathering of veldkos by the women. "It is practised," says Fourie,[1] "when the fruit of the */huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the */huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gaus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women to the *//gaus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the */heis*. Her husband now kindles the */hei-/ais*, and, after having applied */norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gao-ei-/un*. The ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply.

[1] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56–7; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W.A." 98–9.

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222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] [539] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 [462] [857] [415] [237] Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 [221] [621] The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kū-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

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daughters are competely excluded from the inheritance. The eldest son also becomes the head of the family after the death of his father, and must care for the widow and give her food.[1] 428 [768]

Regulation of Public Life

In spite of the loose cohesion of the band, and the facility with which the family groups composing it may wander about separately, the Bushmen are by no means devoid of government and law. Where they are subject to the Bantu or other peoples there is of course not much possibility of an independent political life. In the Okavango marshes, for example, they are in the position of serfs to the BaTawana, by whom they are required to pay an annual tribute of skins, ostrich feathers, and egg-shell beads. The territory occupied by the BaTawana is divided into local districts, each under control of a minor chief (*kxosani*), to whom all the Bushmen in the district have to pay their tribute, and for whom they often have to perform such services as herding his cattle and hunting for him. In the Oschimpoloveld again the Bushmen pay tribute to the OvaKwangari; in the Southern Kalahari they are the serfs and herdsmen of the BaTlaro and other BeChwana tribes among whom they live, and so, too, in the North-East Kalahari, where they are subject to the BaMangwato.[2] 648

But where the Bushmen are still to some extent independent, each band, as we have seen, is a separate political unit and regulates its own affairs. There is no well-developed system of organized government. In the small family groups of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung deference is paid to the head of the group, but his authority in general is very limited. The common affairs of the 621 [622] 554 887

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 10, 35; Kaufmann, op. cit., 119; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

[2] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 121–2; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 65–6; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Languages," 56. In August, 1926, the High Commissioner for S. Africa (H.E. the Earl of Athlone), addressing an assembly of BaMangwato at their chief town Serowe, made the following important declaration with reference to this servitude: "It has been stated that the Masarwa are the slaves of the Mangwato. The Government does not regard them as slaves, but realizes that they are a backward people who serve the Mangwato in return for the food and shelter they receive. I understand that for the most part they are contented and that they do not wish to change. But the Government will not allow any tribe to demand compulsory service from another, and wants to encourage the Masarwa to support themselves. Any Masarwa who wish to leave their masters and live independently of them should understand that they are at liberty to do so, and that if the Mangwato attempt to retain them against their will the Government will not allow it. It is the duty of the Chiefs and Headmen to help these people to stand on their own feet, and I expect the missionaries and the Chief and his Councillors to join the Government in preventing anything in the nature of compulsory service in Bechuanaland" (*Report on Bechuanaland Protectorate*, 1926–7, Colonial Reports No. 1379, p. 6). What effect this pronouncement has had upon the status of the Bushmen it is still too early to determine.

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band, such as migrations and hunting parties, appear rather to be regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men generally.[1]

Among the North-Western tribes, on the other hand, where the bands are on the whole more considerable in size, each band has a recognized chief (*//exa* or *//exaba*, *gao-aob* or *gei-khoib*; the last two words are of Hottentot origin).[2] The office is as a rule hereditary in the male line, descending from father to son, or, failing such, to the nearest male relative. The heir succeeds only when he attains maturity, i.e. when he has passed through the puberty ceremonies and has killed his first head of big game. During his minority there is no regency—things just go on, as Kaufmann says. Among the Heikum and the Kung, however, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds. This rule of succession is so much at variance with what we know of the other North-Western Bushmen, and even of the structure of the band in the two tribes mentioned, that, if the information be correct, the practice can only be regarded as due to the influence of the neighbouring OvaMbo, who are definitely organized on a matrilineal basis. There is no other instance of matrilineal succession among the Bushmen.

No tribute or services are rendered to the chief, nor are there any special signs of chieftainship, such as a particular dress or mode of life. We are told by Miss Bleek that Naron chiefs mostly have two wives, but whether this is in any way associated with their status is not made clear. The main functions of the chief apparently are to direct the movements of the people from place to place and to allocate the work for the day, to order the burning of the veld, and, in particular, to lead in war. Among the Heikum we also know that in him are vested certain other functions the performance of which is of vital importance to the welfare of the community. He alone, as we have seen, "is able to bring forth from fire the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune." The various beliefs and practices centring in the first fire kindled by him at every new encampment, while fully demonstrating the importance of this fire in the social life of the people, at the same time also reflect his religious significance and emphasize the dependence of the community upon him in this aspect of their life. He also, as we have

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109; Trenk, op. cit., 170; Seydel, op. cit., 304.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 154; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36–7; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 86–8; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 14.

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previously noted, plays an important part in the usages relating to game shot with the bow and arrow, as well as in the first-fruits ceremony; while among the Kung he is similarly responsible for the ceremony performed before the edible bulbs of the new season may be gathered. There is no record of similar religious and economic functions being vested in the chief in other Bushman tribes, so that, in the present light of our knowledge, such customs cannot be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture; but in the tribes where they do occur they obviously show that the chief may, in fact, exercise a considerable influence in the life of the community.

On the whole the chief appears to be essentially a leader rather than a ruler. His actual authority over the members of his band is very slight, and dependent to a considerable extent upon his personality. If, for example, he is a man of strong character, or possesses a gun, he will have a correspondingly greater influence; but the only special authority he has is over the members of his own family, and he has no power to enforce his will outside it. He has nothing in the way of judicial functions, nor does he exercise any organized control over the members of the band. Great freedom of action prevails within the band, and as a rule every adult man can do as he pleases, provided, of course, that he does not infringe against recognized law and custom. In general the head of each family has control over the movements of his wife or wives and children—and over the latter only while they are small. No one really controls grown-up sons and daughters.

This absence of any organized system of public control does not imply that the Bushmen have no laws. On the contrary all their institutions, manners and customs serve to regulate the relations between the members of the band, and thus to maintain law and order. The child at birth comes into a world where there already exist definite forms of organization and behaviour, of ceremonial, of manners and fashions, and as he grows up he falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking like those around him, and in this way comes to conform to social norms. There are moreover more or less deliberate means of impressing upon young people the social sentiments necessary for the maintenance of the law and order of the community. The education they receive in the households of their parents and out in the veld, and above all the highly-important teachings at the puberty ceremonies for boys, instruct them in tribal lore and tradition, inculcate social norms, and determine their activities accordingly.

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627 related to the homicide were killed by the brother. What happened
682 afterwards we are not told, but judging from what is known of blood revenge among the Bushmen it is hardly likely that the matter was allowed to rest there.

Among the Auen, for example, a son is obliged to exact blood
628 vengeance on the slayer of his father, a brother for his brother. If
682 the slayer himself is dead or out of reach, the feud extends to his nearest male relative. A son whose father has been killed is obliged to undertake vengeance as soon as he is grown up. His mother impresses this obligation upon him during his childhood, and as soon as he has caught his first head of big game the obligation must be carried out. He applies to his nearest relatives for help, which is given without question. In the same way whoever has to fear blood vengeance is supported by his relatives and the members of his band. Not only
[562] men but women also may become the objects of the blood feud, although as a rule the latter are taken and held as wives by their captors. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen the slayer is killed by the relatives of the dead man. All the male members of the latter's family combine to revenge his death; an arrow is shot at the slayer, and if this does not immediately kill him he is beaten to death with the kirri. Murderesses are also killed in this manner; but otherwise
[562] women, even for such serious offences as theft and adultery, are only punished by thrashing, although this may sometimes be very severely administered.

We are not told whether the killing of the slayer or his substitute leads to the cessation of the feud, but from an instance quoted by Kaufmann it apparently does not. An old Auen man from Olifantskloof was visiting a brother-in-law at Sidonitsaub. The host put out a snare, in which he caught a giant bustard. This was found by the guest, who took it out of the snare and began to consume it. While he was doing so, the host came up and observing the theft pierced him through the body with a spear. The slayer then fled, but was pursued by the relatives of the dead man and killed. Since then a blood feud has existed between these two bands, connected though they were by marriage.

The only exception to this general rule of self-help is recorded by
[184] Seydel of the Namib Bushmen.[1] He states, it is true, that in case of
622 minor offences self-help is frequently resorted to, but adds that all
692 serious offences are formally adjudicated. The court consists of one

[1] Seydel, op. cit., 505–6.

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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band. Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

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628 Naron, or the Auen and the !Ginkwe. This does not extend to the whole tribe, but only to the bands concerned. The Naron at Sandfontein, in the same way, were also hostile to the /nu//en in the south as well as to the Auen in the north; trespass and wife-stealing led to many fights between them.

628 726 701 [622] [887] [411] Fights between opposing bands are therefore by no means unusual, but the extent of each campaign is small.[1] The chiefs have general command in war, but their authority is scarcely greater than in peace, where, as we have seen, it is but slight. The older men with experience naturally have an influence corresponding to their knowledge and ability. Every man and youth takes part in a campaign, the weapons used being the ordinary hunting bow and arrow as well as the spear. The magician also fights, but without any special authority or functions. We have no eyewitness account of any such campaigns, but Kaufmann gives a description, obtained from a "trustworthy Kafir informant", which may serve to convey some idea of their nature. Among the Auen there is no formal declaration of war, but when a man wears a cap of aardwolf (*Proteles cristatus*) skin, then he is on the warpath. Several friendly villages came together and decided to attack another village. The war caps were put on, and after sunset the men marched in the direction of the enemy village. In the neighbourhood of the latter a halt was made and without lighting a fire, although it was the cold time of the year, they waited until the morning. After sunrise, when it was somewhat warmer, the village was surrounded and attacked from all sides, the spear being chiefly used. There was loud shouting and calling, but no special war cry; and in general everybody fought as he pleased.

628 721 628 726 628 727 [184] [721] If possible, all men are killed, and also boys, for fear of the blood feud. Women are never killed intentionally, but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women and girls are made captive and taken in marriage. All objects that can be used are also taken away, but the huts are not regarded as worth the burning. Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, the victors will under no circumstances deprive the vanquished of their territory or even occupy it, lest harm and disaster overtake them; on the other hand among the Kung, as already mentioned, disputes over the possession of land are among the prime causes of war. What happens to the land of the defeated group in other tribes is not stated. The

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, op. cit., 85.